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and representations by the Karajá, I have also dealt with some by the Šavajé, a tribe which in language and culture is very closely related to the Karajá.

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In view of the interest which ethnologists, psychologists, art historians, and cultivated circles in general display today with respect to primitive art, I felt that the exceedingly abundant material collected by me should be published separately, apart from the other results of my expedition, among which it would have fallen too far into the background.

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I am reproducing the material as such, arranged only according to certain points of view, which can be seen from the "Table of Contents," and provided with the most important explanations about the maker, the method of production, the purpose and significance of the object or figure. I hope that the individual things are defined so precisely by this means that no doubts and misinterpretations can arise, so that, in other words, anyone, whatever his position on particular theories about the development of primitive art, can work with this material on a secure basis. The article is meant simply as a straightforward publication of material. I believe that research is better served in this way than if I myself, as an analysis of my results, had tried to assume a position on the great controversies about the development of primitive art which are being argued at the present time.

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To make the material still more useful I am giving in the appendix /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 30-31/ a general view of the share which the two related tribes, the Karajá and Šavajé, have in it, and then also a general view of the distribution of the sketchbook drawings among the individual artists, arranged according to their ages, and finally a systematic listing of all the objects represented.

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The objects discussed are all to be found in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Leipzig. On occasion reference has been made to the objects acquired by Ehrenreich in 1888 on the Araguaia and

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/43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

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To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Research, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

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On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

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To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.

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59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather L1, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá
 • [121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
 615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
 • [114] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual,
 an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of
 patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter,
 not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups,
 which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and
 political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in
 the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter
 of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no
 means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At
 [621] the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case
 of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on
 account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
 613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family,
 • 596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal
 • 582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with
 any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilineal preference
 reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of
 whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be
 only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas
 the slight patrilineal preference ascertained by myself is equally
 in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups.
 [601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister"
 with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

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551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[193] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree
of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of
greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies,
such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions
of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of
variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. —
Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents
and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated accord-
ing to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild
is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an
idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and
religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal
groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think
[567] of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example,
and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves,
Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (A1,
with a tendency towards Ci, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the
candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of
the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the
chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance
(thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the
Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

•121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite
appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional
aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative
sociology as well as for the history of the South American
Indians.

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- 121 sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians. I hope, however, that my material can be useful in the discussion on the social structures of central Brazil recently started by Lévi-Strauss and Maybury-Lewis, even if it is not yet the right moment for me to enter into it from my side.

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Discussion

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Professor H. Baldus emphasizes the necessity of considering geographical differences in the study of the social organization of the Carajá of the north and of the south.

000 /1/

I. The Karaya /Caraja/ Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz)
/pp. 4-97 /.

II. Concerning several Peoples on the Purus River (Amazonas)
/untranslated/.

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Foreword

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The ethnological material communicated in the following is the result of a journey through little-known regions of the interior of Brazil, undertaken in connection with the second Xingu expedition of Dr. Carl von der Steinen, which set out at the beginning of the year 1887 in order to subject to closer study the wild tribes still living on a pre-Columbian level of culture in the source area of this river.

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One of the most important results of this expedition was the final solution of the Karaib /Carib/ question. That the original home of the Karaib tribes, whose ethnographic position had been so unclear up to now, was not to be sought in northeastern South America, but in the central regions of the continent was made sufficiently certain by the discovery of two large Karaib peoples in the Xingu source region, the Bakairi /Bacairi/ and Nahuqua, the more detailed investigation of their languages, and the fortunate discovery of the traditions concerning their migrations. It was then a matter of following the traces of those ancient displacements of peoples, of finding Karaib tribes which formed the connecting link between the two widely separated groups of this large family of peoples. Certain observations permitted the assumption that the Karaya (1) of the lower Xingu and the middle Araguaia

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1. The spelling Karaya, instead of Caraja or Karaža, was chosen because the sound j in the mouths of the people themselves sounds like a German j (phonetic y). The soft sibilant ž occurs in their language only in the combination dž.

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the Apiaka /Apiaca/ of the upper and middle Tapajós, a true Tupi tribe. Externally they are distinguished from the latter by their tribal tattooing. Among the Apiaka of the Tapajós, the mouth region is tattooed black; those of the Tocantins are characterized by a blue line drawn from the outer corner of the eye to the corner of the mouth.

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I met only civilized individuals, live farther in the interior. They actually proved to be the connecting link sought. They are a true Karaib tribe, closely related linguistically and somatically to the Bakairi, but only a relatively short time ago, about the middle of this century migrated from the upper Xingu or Tapajós region to the lower Tocantins. If migrations of such dimensions have taken place in recent times, their possibility at least cannot be ruled out for earlier periods.

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From Manaus I undertook in the middle of December, 1888, a three-month trip to the primeval forest regions of the middle Purus, during which I became acquainted with three of the most important tribes of these regions. Because of unfavorable conditions, the yield in collection specimens was relatively small here. The exhaustion of my means, but in particular the poor health of my two companions, prevented extending the trip to the upper Purus regions and necessitated our return as early as the end of February. Nevertheless, this journey did contribute something toward the clarification of the distribution of peoples in these regions. Almost all the tribes there belong to the large Maipure of Nu-Aruak group (v.d. Steinen) and form the connecting link between the Nu tribes of Guiana and Colombia and those of Bolivia and Mato Grosso. Ascertaining this fact has substantially simplified the confused ethnographic picture of central South America.

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The following presentation is therefore devoted to the Karaya and the Purus tribes of the Yamamadi, Ipurina, and Paumari /Paumary/. All the other ethnological observations and inquiries, as well as all of the linguistic and anthropological material, will be reserved for special publications.

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The souls of the dead, which, as mentioned above, are thought of as remaining for a while in the vicinity of the grave, later like to return to their former home. They appear to their relatives especially on stormy nights. When the rain streams down and lightning brightens the darkness, the old people remember their dead relatives and attempt by loud lamentations and singing to put themselves in a state of artificial ecstasy, which finally conjures up in their aroused imaginations any desired phantom.

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The animistic "religion," if one wishes to call it this, still lacks any ethical basis. It has not elevated itself to the acceptance of a higher, omnipotent spirit upon which man feels dependent in the expectation of punishment and reward for his actions. Thus there is also lacking anything which would indicate the external relationships of man to the godhead, idols, cult performances, prayers, etc. There are among them, however, those ceremonies from which apparently the higher cult forms have come everywhere in the world, the mysterious

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Masked dances. The important role which such masked dances play among the North American tribes is known everywhere. Until now remarkably little was known about the analogous customs on the southern continent. Only the dances of the Tekuna, Juri, and Uaupē tribes are mentioned in passing in the literature. The "temples" and "idols" which the oldest missionary reports mention are obviously nothing other than the "medicine huts" or "flute houses" with the fantastic mask costumes stored in them.

Only recently has the wealth of mask material brought back by the two Xingu expeditions again directed attention to these festive dances which are so important for an understanding of Indian life. Observations made later among the Karaya supplied a desirable supplement to this.

Their masked dances are of quite special interest ethnologically on account of the remarkable analogies which they exhibit in the form of the masks, as well as in other festive customs, with those of Melanesia. This correspondence goes into such

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535 detail that Kleinschmidt's description of the duck-duck festival
121 of New Britain would also fit mutatis mutandis the animal
dances of the Karaya.

535 Castelnau, who first mentions them, obtained one of these
114 masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the
535 most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro
532 Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of
[123] his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These
[178] sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by
532 travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expecta-
535 tion, the most beautiful specimens were found among the
184 Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described
"medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple
semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as
Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent
among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been
torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-
straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby
forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

• 121 In the year 1908, under the auspices of the city of Leipzig,
 [122] I undertook an ethnographic research expedition into central
 Brazil, the purpose of which was the scientific investigation,
 with the most modern methods and instruments, of the Indian
 tribes visited, as well as the salvaging of visible examples of
 their cultural life for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde. Its
 [101] goal was the region of the middle Araguaya /Araguaia/, between
 the 15th and 9th degrees, southern latitude, with the Indian
 tribes of the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, Tapirapé, and
 Kayapó /Cayapo/.

114 The expedition set out on 29 January 1908 and returned
 to Leipzig on 7 February 1909. The program was, by and large,
 carried out; only the proposed advance to the west had to be cut
 short because of insurmountable geographical difficulties.

126 Abundant material in the form of observations of all kinds,
 photographs and phonographic recordings, sketchbook drawings,
 etc. was brought back. The ethnographic collection, containing
 more than 1,100 specimens, has been handed over to the Museum
 für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Of my findings I have published up
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 126 to now only reproductions of the dance masks of the Karajá
 Indians, in connection with a description of the use of masks by
 this tribe (in the Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig,
 Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910), as well as a study of the art of the
 Karajá Indians (in the Bäessler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, Berlin,
 1911), in which the material collected by me on the artistic
 activities of the Indians in the plastic arts and drawing was repro-
 duced.

128 All the rest of the material is now to be presented to the
 public here.

As a first part, and before the actual results, I am giving
 a report on the expedition /the first part is omitted in the transla-
 tion/. I regard this as very important; for the findings of the ex-
 pedition can be properly evaluated only if one knows how they were
 obtained, in other words, the conditions under which the studies
 were made. Thus, the travel report gives the external course

128/iv/ of the journey and, above all, deals in detail with life with the Indians, for it is only from this description that the research possibilities may be noted, especially the manifold restrictions to which one is subject, much against one's will. A brief cultural survey of the individual Indian tribes will be given, as well as all kinds of psychological and other material of general interest, which could not have been handled in this detailed and directly effective manner in the second part. I trust that I have thereby succeeded in delineating as faithful a picture of the life and ideas of these Indians as is possible. The report then, in brief outline, will include a survey of the geographical conditions of the areas traveled through, the method of travel, the cultural condition of the country, and will thus probably be able to offer all kinds of new things and give future travelers important pointers.

The second part, which deals with the findings, is thought of more as a reference work. I regard as most important the presentation of the material by means of illustrations and the addition of the necessary notes, examined and worked on from the scientific point of view and compared with the material from this region hitherto available. This has resulted in a strict division into those points that were personally observed, several times or only once, and those based merely on information. In my opinion, this division cannot be applied strictly enough if errors are not to creep in, which will then continue to be passed on. I have dealt with some data, which seemed very uncertain to me, in footnotes, in order to give subsequent researchers hints for further investigation. I believe that I am serving scholarship best by publishing the material by itself and only as such. For, in this way, it remains permanently utilizable. To be sure, this method, which makes no effort to solve problems and to prove far-reaching relationships, is regarded by some people as "antiquated," but I regard it as the only proper one, in order to determine the scientific value of every statement and thus provide sound material, which alone makes it possible for us to further our knowledge. For this reason I am merely skirting the question of the position of the Karajá with regard to the rest of the Indian tribes; in order to solve this major problem,

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121 comprehensive preliminary studies are required, since almost
128 all comparative studies in South American ethnography are as yet lacking. It will therefore be reserved for a later publication. I know that with this kind of self-limitation I am certain to have the approval of many of my colleagues.

122 Wherever I was, here at home or over in Brazil, the expedition found extensive help and support among people willing to assist us, /v/ and I do not wish to fail to express my warmest thanks to all of them. This thanks is owed first of all to the Council of the City of Leipzig and to the Leipzig City Council Board for the willingness with which they put at my disposal the means for the expedition, as well as to Herr Consul Dr. Herrmann Meyer, who was kind enough to make available a large sum for the enterprise to insure its subsequent successful completion and to assist me in an advisory and an active capacity with regard to the equipment. I owe equal thanks to Herr Prof. Dr. Weule and Herr W. v. d. Steinen for assistance and advice in working out the plan and assembling the scientific and personal equipment, and also to Herr Privy Councilor Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer for the use of instruments and rifles. No less effective was the assistance which my expedition found in Brazil itself. First of all, thanks are owed to the Imperial German authorities, especially to the Ambassador, Baron v. Reichenau, then to the gentlemen of the Consulate in Rio de Janeiro and to the Councilor of the Embassy Flügel in S. Paulo. They all gave me their assistance and procured for me extensive privileges from the Brazilian central government as well as the governments of the individual states, for which I should also like to express here my profound gratitude to these governments. Equal thanks are owed to our German countrymen, Herr Marxsen of Rio, Herr Naschold of S. Paulo, and Herr Öckinghaus of Goyaz /Goiás/, who, in an unselfish and devoted manner, supported me in every way and gave me the most valuable pointers which alone made it possible for me to carry out my entire journey according to schedule. And finally, but no less cordially, I must thank my camaradas who so willingly took upon themselves all the strain and effort, the German Adam, the